

Honolulu in 1838

Richard A. Greer

Monday, January 1, 1838: "Happy New Year to all the World—may it be more happy than the last." Stephen Reynolds, merchant, bent over his journal. Was he expecting a celebration? If so, his hopes were dashed. In the evening a few "old standards" met at Capt. Grimes' to share a bowl of pisco punch, and from there it was home and to bed.*

"All the world" was remote indeed from Hawaii in that first full year of Victoria's reign. She gave her name to a dynamic era of progress and change which, however, awakened tardy and often faint echoes among distant Pacific isles. For this the snail's pace of travel and communication was much to blame. Choose records at random:

Columbia arrived at Honolulu 143 days (almost five months) from London;

Nereide took thirty-three days to come from the Columbia River;

Bartholomew voyaged thirty-six days from Tahiti to Honolulu.¹

Maria Chamberlain, writing to her father, complained that the latest letter from her sister was dated Nov. 1, 1836 but hadn't reached Hawaii until Mar. 10, 1837.²

A brig from the Gulf of California brought a packet of mail forwarded from the Society Islands more than a year before.³

And as early as October, 1838, missionary families were sending to the U.S. lists of their wants for 1840.⁴

There could be other hurdles. Reynolds was reminded that mail meant money when he paid \$2.50 to send six letters by Captain Foughlin of the *Swallow*.⁵ Then there was the day that Captain Paty stuck some letters in a book and forgot where they were.⁶

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* Pisco was—and is—a Peruvian brandy. Drinking it straight is said to be the next thing to kissing a blowtorch. Today's pisco punch combines lime and pineapple juice with the essential ingredient.

Although Honolulu's location put it far from world centers, the town's mid-Pacific situation did make it a commercial crossroads of sorts, thanks much to the developing whaling industry. The "village", as many foreign residents called it, sat on the western edge of a four-or five-mile plain. The embryonic city stretched from Kapalama to Kewalo, and from the sea to Nuuanu Valley, with a central town running about three-fourths of a mile along the shore and half a mile inland. "Narrow, crooked and filthy lanes" had evolved haphazardly around Honolulu's chief—and only—glory: one of the best harbors in the Pacific for ships drawing not more than twenty-four feet. Whalers were usually small, which inspired the claim that there was simultaneous anchorage for at least 100 of them. True, strong trade winds sometimes made vessels drag, but a reassuring mudbank coated the reef's inner side. Honolulu fort, right on the water, offered the protection of fifty-two guns, while fourteen more perched on the Punchbowl battery, about 550 feet above and seven-eighths of a mile inland of the lower fort.⁷

Some 6,000 people lived in the town proper, with perhaps another 3,000 in the suburbs. Foreigners numbered 350–400, of whom 200–250 were Americans, 75–100 English, 30–40 Chinese (a growing element praised by the *Sandwich Island Gazette* as industrious, enterprising and persevering); and the remainder, a thin sprinkling of French, Spanish, Portuguese, and other nationalities.⁸ These figures were approximations; to get a better count of the foreign population, the *Gazette* suggested that a census book be placed in that mecca, the Warren Hotel.⁹

Not yet the kingdom's official capital, Honolulu was nevertheless reported to be the only place in the Hawaiian islands in the 1830s offering comfortable accommodations, and even certain luxuries. Plain board cost \$3.00 or \$4.00 a week, while the more refined tastes of gentlemen might be satisfied for \$6.00 or \$7.00. Well-stocked markets, abundant and cheap fruits, good horses and carriages, and ample means of recreation provided further amenities.¹⁰

The advantages of Honolulu included the services of three physicians, eleven mercantile houses, a commercial printery besides that of the mission establishment, house and ship carpenters, caulkers, sailmakers, cabinetmakers, blacksmiths, house-painters, coopers, shoemakers, masons, tailors, a watchmaker, a saddle and harness maker, block-maker, cigar-maker, baker, barber, and so forth. "Mechanics"—a nineteenth-century term covering workers at many skills—generally earned high wages.¹¹

Hawaiians' houses, estimated to number 600, were chiefly of the traditional "grass shack" type, vulnerable to occasional high winds that scalped, twisted, or even demolished them.¹² A few foreigners lived in

wooden or coral "stone" homes; most, however, inhabited houses built of adobes. The recipe for the latter: mix common soil with dry grass, mold into blocks 18" to 24" \times 12" \times 6" to 8", and dry in the sun. Then plaster the walls with a mixture of lime and sand. The result was a house of surprising durability.¹³

Public buildings were few. There were the Mariners' Church (later called the Seamen's Bethel), built in 1833 for about \$5,000; the Oahu Charity School, 36' \times 26', erected in 1832 from funds subscribed by foreigners; and the "native chapel."¹⁴

But progress was afoot. Coral and wooden houses multiplied. A sidewalk appeared, probably the islands' first.¹⁵ The fort—that well-whitewashed coral and mud enclosure ". . . where government troops played soldier and chained miscreants collected flea-bites . . ."—was dignified by the addition of an eighty-foot flagpole made of a couple of spars that Oahu's Governor Mataio Kekuanaoa bought from Stephen Reynolds for \$130.00.¹⁶ It was in place by the middle of June to display the kingdom's "stripped banner".¹⁷

Even beneficial changes can be traumatic. For decades Honoluluans remembered 1838 as the year when the roads were made. At the end of 1837, the *Gazette* complained about the mud walls encroaching on streets. Thoroughfares were reduced to skinny, zigzag alleys, and squares to "pig-sty corners" where pedestrians inched sideways. The newspaper, campaigning for a regular plan, warned that neglecting this matter would make it ". . . an expensive and difficult task for the future population to rectify the mistakes of their ancestors".¹⁸ And of course no one then foresaw the crushing impact of automobiles.

Action followed quickly. Even as the tax-gatherers swept the town, Kekuanaoa's minions took up their crusade of straightening and widening Honolulu's anonymous streets.¹⁹

Soon after breakfast on January 29, surveyors and gangs of Hawaiian laborers thronged the roads. At first they went along "cutting and pulling without regard to straight or crooked". Finally, they were told to get poles and lay them down to range by—with results they found astonishing.²⁰ On the morrow "road fever raged strong" again; by the thirty-first Honolulu had been set on its ears by the pulling down of houses and breaking of fences. Special gusto seemed to mark the destruction of foreigners' property. David Owens' fence bit the dust, as did that of Joe Booth. Henry Zupplien's victualling house was another casualty.²¹ Levi Chamberlain noted that English residents generally opposed the roadmaking efforts of the chiefs, while Americans supported them.²²

On February 1 the main thoroughfare, Pearl River road (later King Street), was staked out eastward. This took off a long string of buildings, the greater and most valuable part of them belonging to foreigners; there was an apparent intent to annoy those residents as much as possible.²³ At this point the redoubtable missionary leader, Hiram Bingham, had a serious conference with Kekuanaoa. Later, Captains John Meek and Eliab Grimes went out with the governor and demonstrated how to widen and straighten with minimum destruction.²⁴

The next day the same team was on the field at sunrise, staking from the Seamen's Chapel to A. Smith's corner, and thence to Jose's house and the mission establishment. Here Bingham and Haalilio intervened, and the remainder of the forenoon was lost in arguing. After midday dinner the whole crew ran a street through from Reynolds' wharf to Madam Boki's house and on to the "river" bank (Nuuanu Stream).²⁵

Progress halted temporarily when David Owens refused to pull down his house without compensation, and Kekuanaoa supported him. Thereafter the Owens fence was resurrected in its original crooked line.²⁶ But four days later the road work was proceeding once more.²⁷

By February 10 the *Gazette* was able to contrive a more or less balanced view: while the manner of making improvements had been debatable, and the government in its ardor had "most unguardedly" interfered with the rights of both Hawaiians and foreigners, there was no doubt of the need for wide streets. After consideration, government had decided to avoid mangling foreigners' estates, unless by mutual concession and understanding. The *Gazette* urged foreign residents to smile on this, one of the first signs of official enterprise and spirit. It also hoped for clean streets, public promenades, tree-planting, named thoroughfares, and corner signs. But advances took time:

February 16: Great work.²⁸

February 17: Almost to S.J. Mills'.²⁹

February 19: Going on briskly.³⁰

April 21: Great carnage among houses and fences.³¹

May 19: Mud gradually assuming the shape of walls.³²

November 10: Moderate progress.³³

Meanwhile blacksmith John Colcord mourned the loss of at least \$500.00. His stone (coral) shop, costing \$700.00, seemed to be on the brink of destruction, and he balked. Thereupon, two or three of his neighbors came to Colcord and said they would give him all that the streets were worth to them, as they expected to be on the road and thus enjoy more business. So Colcord was persuaded to tear down his shop and put up one of wood on another plan. But when the street was

finished, it didn't benefit the neighbors after all. They conveniently forgot Colcord.³⁴

Other construction dotted the town. No one was much excited when Captain Meek built a cow pen out on the plains, or when Mr. Jackson undertook a modest new home.³⁵ Considerably more interest accompanied the effort of Wm. French and Geo. Pelly to put up a stone house on what had been Captain W. S. Hinckley's land in Nuuanu Valley. On January 15, Kekuanaoa sent a crew up to the site and tore down the walls, then about four feet high. Stephen Reynolds, acting U.S. Consul in John C. Jones' absence, went to the fort to try to get things straightened out. Kekuanaoa said the government's only objection was that Hinckley hadn't given notice of the change. French then lodged a protest against Kekuanaoa and the government.³⁶ This "outrage", noted by the *Gazette*, pursued a familiar course: in due time an avenging man-of-war appeared (in this case it was H.B.M.S. *Fly*), demands for redress vibrated official ears, and satisfaction followed—when Kaahumanu II (Kinau) gave the place to Pelly and promised to repair all the damage. The whole affair ran through more than nine months.³⁷ And it illustrated the ambivalent, unstable relationship between the Hawaiian government and foreign residents.

The year's biggest building project, eclipsing all others, was Kawaiahao Church. Since the end of May 1837, Hawaiians had been cutting "stone" on the reef in preparation. This work, which went on for more than a year, was only part of the job. Getting black sand and cinders, building kilns to "burn lime", collecting firewood for the kilns, breaking and burning limestone, and transporting all materials to the construction area were other necessary chores. Levi Chamberlain wrote that "Many—perhaps most—of the people of this island will be busy many months doing what can be done by native hands."³⁸ On July 19 several kilns were fired. Bingham had spent considerable time making and fitting a device to hoist and carry stones under a cart's axletree, and he and Kekuanaoa tried to buy lumber in exchange for salt.³⁹ The last day of July saw work begun on digging the "cellar" and foundation of the 144' × 72' structure—a task that involved relocating the buried remains of several former church members.⁴⁰ When Chamberlain referred to what could be done by native hands, he should have included backs, for by August 17, some 1,000 Hawaiians were lugging stones to Kawaiahao.⁴¹ "Relentless cruelty and oppression", stormed the *Gazette*: His Majesty, absent for several months, was probably not aware that his subjects were being forced to carry huge rocks on their bare backs through the streets to build a Christian church. Vehicles and beasts of burden should be used instead.⁴²

Spurred perhaps by such criticism, Bingham ordered two pairs of plank wheels for a truck to draw stones, while Dr. Judd broke in several horses to pull it.⁴³ The first stones were laid on September 18, with three layers all around completed two days later.⁴⁴ More than a month earlier, Kekuanaoa had contracted for thirteen stonemasons and an overseer. Paaluhi, the supervisor, got fifty cents a day, half in cash and half in clothes, blankets, and other items. Masons were paid twenty-five cents a day on the same terms.⁴⁵

Moving from the subject of church-building to that of religious affairs in general does not involve a long step; certainly many in Honolulu were critical of both, and saw ambitious construction projects as a symbol of what was wrong with the whole missionary enterprise. The coming of the missionaries eighteen years before had certainly introduced a new dimension—that nobody could deny. Evaluating their impact is, however, quite another matter. It has proved to be a highly subjective process, with the result that more than a century and a half later warm arguments over the question can still be generated. The mission establishment families quartered at the east end of town included the Revs. Hiram Bingham and Reuben Tinker, physician G. P. Judd, general agents Levi Chamberlain and S. N. Castle, printer E. O. Hall, book binder H. Dimond, and teacher A. S. Cooke. Tinker resigned during the year.⁴⁶

Developments since 1820 had tended to polarize Honolulu, and by 1838 both the mission's detractors and its champions exhibited true dedication in the pursuit of their opposite aims. Prominent among the critics was S. D. Macintosh, editor of the *Sandwich Island Gazette*. "Meddling fanatics" was typical of the labels he affixed to the missionary group, and it was no overstatement when he wrote that "We have, during the past year, strenuously, and incessantly objected to the conduct of the American Missionaries established in these islands."⁴⁷ Affairs were such that one member of that body, who had borrowed a copy of the *Gazette*, returned it with this marginal note: "Any scandal against the missionaries is particularly acceptable and will be thankfully received." This inspired another editorial diatribe.⁴⁸ It may be added here that the government enjoyed similar status in the Macintosh affections.

The *Gazette* did approve when it discovered that some of the missionaries had turned from "sowing fanaticism" to encouraging industry—a tack which, it said, others should follow.⁴⁹ Apparently Hiram Bingham had seen the light, but it served to illuminate among other things the truth that it is indeed hard to be all things to all men: the news which earned the praise of Macintosh brought down the ire of Stephen Reynolds. That conscientious recorder noted that Bingham no longer

wanted the Hawaiians to attend meeting every morning and evening, but to till their fields instead. "Hypocrite!! Villains!!!" raged Reynolds, indulging his persistent weakness for exclamation points. Now this, "After urging them for 18 years to forget all worldly cares."⁵⁰

Reynolds was ripe for the attack. He had sourly observed that the first week of January had been one of "preaching and prayings", with the natives at church day and night.⁵¹ A couple of months later he made this entry: "Streets on Oahu will soon be as that Villain Bingham hoped he might see them—'With the grass growing in the Streets!!'"⁵²

By this time the abstract had become concrete. On March 3 after nine p.m. a native came into Reynolds' yard after his Hawaiian wife Susan had gone to bed, wanting to take her to the church. Reynolds ejected this Hawaiian Mercury and sent a note to Bingham forbidding the latter to interfere with the Reynolds menage. "The knave [Bingham] was in an evening meeting; when the native gave him the billet he did not read it but inquired why Susan was not at meeting. The Villian." This uncharacteristic misspelling may have revealed the depth of Reynolds' perturbation.⁵³

The next morning Susan stole off to church while Reynolds was at breakfast. He sent his servant Hanamaikai after her. "This day will ever be remembered by me. This day my wife left me at the instigation of Bingham and joined the church contrary to all my remonstrances. The villian [sic] said she was only doing her duty. Her duty to desert her husband, family and children? O shame!!"⁵⁴ In the afternoon John Ii and another Hawaiian church member came to talk about church affairs. On the back stoop Reynolds told Ii to leave. Ii refused, so Reynolds shut the door on him, put the other caller out the front way, and went over to Captain Grimes'.⁵⁵

Susan made overtures, and Hanamaikai was fired for lying to Reynolds.⁵⁶ On March 13 at sunset, Susan came into the yard ". . . with a train of she Devils." After camping there, she finally came up to the sleeping-house or store at eight-thirty. Reynolds was ready. He handed her a recipe for future domestic harmony. Susan was

Not to :

go out without consent
have a gang of natives about her
hide anything from her husband
go to weekly meetings
go to Bingham's
think the Missionaries her (illegible)
get drunk

To :

look to Reynolds for admonition,
protection, instruction, and support,
and regard him as her guardian
do nothing without reflection, or
to disgrace religion
do nothing secretly or covertly

Not to :

lie
commit adultery
steal
give away her goods
cast off her children
be angry
scold
gad abroad
forget her duty as a [illegible]
put on forms and no practice
listen to Hannah [Holmes?]

To :

do everything as good woman
throw off hypocrisy and disguise
be cheerful and social, industrious
and frugal, and mindful to do as
she would be done by

Having resumed her matrimonial role under these terms, Susan was, the next day very industrious and good-natured. "New broom today an old one tomorrow", Reynolds wrote philosophically.⁵⁷ But less than a week later his equanimity evaporated when Susan took an old woman upstairs in the straw house and fastened the door. Reynolds broke off the button, and there was a great row.⁵⁸

While Reynolds tried to quarantine Susan from her countrymen, the missionaries were making a like effort to shield their children from the islanders' contaminating influence. Maria Chamberlain enclosed a small yard for play; no common Hawaiians had access to this area. And the Reuben Tinkers effected certain changes in their domestic economy to minimize the influence of native servants on the Tinker progeny.⁵⁹

Missionary journals recorded meetings, conversions, and the comings and goings of colleagues from station to station. In Honolulu proper Kawaiahao was not the only center of interest. At the other (western) edge of town Lowell Smith was forming a school and a church. This "second mission", the church of the rank and file Hawaiians, was at Kaumakapili. Smith had moved there in December, 1837, and opened a school.⁶⁰ In January, he was going from house to house among the natives.⁶¹ His enterprise prospered, and its growth was reflected in burgeoning sales of shoes and black handkerchiefs to meeting-bound Hawaiians.⁶² On June 3, Smith administered the sacraments to 433 Hawaiians, using sweetened water and balled taro for bread and wine.⁶³ Success inspired another construction project—an adobe church with walls a yard thick enclosing a room 125' × 60', and with a huge, haystack thatched roof and a seven-foot veranda all around. This cost \$3,000.⁶⁴ By the middle of August, the congregation numbered about 400.⁶⁵

Other religious highlights of the year included an ineffective petition for a Church of England clergyman.⁶⁶ But of overshadowing proportions

was the struggle generated by attempts to root Roman Catholicism in Hawaii. On January 6, the *Gazette* printed a law of December 18, 1837, rejecting that religion. Under this statute persecution of Hawaiian Catholics continued while Honolulu's sole priest, Father Walsh, "... penned up in his domicile, with an embargo on his tongue..." was forbidden to teach his doctrines.⁶⁷ In June, Kekuanaoa examined natives "charged with the crime of Catholicity".⁶⁸ Followers of Rome got much-needed support from Captain Russell Elliott of H.B.M.S. *Fly* at the end of September. A Protestant himself, he nevertheless followed other foreign naval officers in condemning the persecution of Catholics. When Kaahumanu II (Kinau) replied that they were idolators and worshippers of images, Elliott rebutted this idea; the government should be paternal, just and mild.⁶⁹ But persecution didn't stop entirely until July, 1839.⁷⁰

As the year began, the *Gazette* summarized Honolulu's shortcomings, which plagued both the quick and the dead. The bones of those foreigners planted permanently in Hawaiian soil were consigned to an "indecent and revolting" plot—a mere "... common by a public highway exposed to intrusion by animals".⁷¹ Happily, the government had granted a better-situated place, and subscription papers for enclosing it were at the business houses of French, Reynolds, Macintosh, Peirce and Brewer, and Ladd and Co. This project occupied many months.⁷² Meanwhile, the living had to traverse narrow and crooked streets—but, as we know, these too were getting attention, at last.

Definitely, something would have to be done about reckless boys who raced through the roads. Fast riding should be made a penal offense. Another grave hazard to pedestrians was the herds of bullocks whisked along to the slaughterhouse at a terrifying pace on fifteen or twenty feet of lasso, while passersby bolted indoors or vaulted walls. Such athletic expedients could not prevail against the noise pollution proceeding from gangs of screaming Hawaiian boys gambling in the streets for money or bits of crackers, or buttons that they pitched against the sides of houses, betting on the distance of the rebound. This the governor should absolutely prohibit.⁷³ Another auditory nuisance emanated from the conch shells blown daily throughout the town. This din was said to announce the school hours, but was none the more welcome for it.⁷⁴ Then at night the mutts took over with their incessant yapping. They doubtless merited a newspaper notice directed at them: "Dogs are requested to stay at home with their families during the evening, and to go to bed at ten o'clock".⁷⁵ Of course, it was necessary to remember that they and the resident hogs performed a valuable service: in starving

multitudes they pounced upon every bit of animal and vegetable matter thrown out on the streets or cast up by the sea.⁷⁶

An overabundant fauna contrasted sharply with an acute shortage of money. Approaching annual taxes had siphoned off specie by the end of January, and the usually numerous coins (*hapaumi*, five cents; *hapawalu*, twelve-and-a-half cents; and *hapaha*, twenty-five cents) were disappearing into the caches of the tax collectors.⁷⁷

Finally, the village needed fire-fighting apparatus such as wells, reservoirs, buckets, hooks, engines, ladders, and axes for public use.⁷⁸ There is no evidence that they were forthcoming.

During 1838, fire ran far behind firewater as an object of attention. By this time Hawaii had developed a strong temperance movement, aided by the antics of drunken whalemens ashore; these worthies had all unwittingly given many lessons on the evils of rum over the years.⁷⁹ On March 13 the king, then at Lahaina, published a notice that only two grog shops would be allowed on Oahu at the end of the current six-months' licensing period. These would be the houses with billiard tables.⁸⁰ This edict, applying to those who kept houses of entertainment for seamen, eliminated at a stroke some ten or twelve saloons.⁸¹ It also vaporized the economic underpinnings of that "no inconsiderable portion" of Oahu's foreign residents who kept public houses or were interested in their success.⁸² "Bingham has triumphed. The king has proved himself a great tyrant", wrote Reynolds.⁸³ There should have been six months' notice; some tavernkeepers had laid out large sums on premises and stock. Reynolds predicted that the value of foreign residents' property would fall by more than half. Business was bound to suffer, he thought, since the grog shops had to carry on a lot of trade with Honolulu merchants. Was this really a matter of principle? No; two billiard rooms with their satellite bars would be licensed.⁸⁴

Just a week after the notice of March 13, Kamehameha III established "A Law Regulating the Sale of Ardent Spirits", or "blue ruin", according to the vernacular of the day.⁸⁵ This prohibited selling without license, under penalty of a fifty-dollar fine (with an additional \$50.00 for each succeeding offense). Exempted were those who sold by the barrel or large cask. Licensed houses could sell by the glass, but not in any larger quantity. Ten p.m., Monday through Saturday, was closing time, and there could be no Sunday opening. Should anyone get drunk in a saloon, its owner would have to pay ten dollars for the first offense, twenty for the second, and so forth. Officers would be appointed to observe whatever was afoot—or underfoot—in the licensed houses. Licenses would be revoked should breaches of the law occur.⁸⁶

This took effect on All Fools' Day. Native "spies" assumed their duties in the licensed houses, and, by Reynolds' account, on Sunday the fifteenth of April, the ". . . kanakas [were] out smelling people's breath to make disturbance".⁸⁷ By this date there was already quite a bit of that commodity. On April 5, British Consul Richard Charlton forwarded a petition of Her Majesty's subjects who, he said, had been led to believe that licenses would be granted as usual, and who had consequently amassed stocks of spirits for the approaching whaling-ship season. The petitioners had been making their livings by victualling and retailing liquor. Most were married to Hawaiian women, by whom they had families. The sudden proscription was unfair, since the "privilege" of selling by the barrel was tantamount to entire prohibition. Even the most bibulous of sailors could hardly be expected to indulge themselves that generously. Signers of the fruitless petition were R. Lawrence, Henry Sebastian Swinton, James Vowels, William Mowle, John Cretendon, John Hobbs, Thomas Aylett, Henry Zupplien, Joseph Booth, and John Mitchener.⁸⁸

The last-named and Alex. Smith went to Maui to exert leverage on the king. They came back without licenses, but with permission to roll ninepins and dispense wine, beer, and cider.⁸⁹ Mitchener, incidentally, operated one of Waikiki's first hotels.

Further restrictions were yet to come. On August 21 "A Law Respecting Alcoholic Drinks and Duties on Wines" cut off importation of rum, brandy, gin, alcohol, and all other distilled spirits as of January 1, 1839. After that date no wine could be landed without a report to the harbor-master and payment of fifty cents per gallon. Vessels leaving the U.S., Britain, or France before February 1, 1839 could be exempted at the discretion of the several island governors, and these officials could also allow physicians to import alcohol in small quantities.⁹⁰ The *Gazette* voiced its disapproval of this sirocco from Lahaina; it also improved the occasion by transmitting impartial and sincere wishes for the downfall of the missionaries in Hawaii and Tahiti.⁹¹ As a matter of record, the law of August 21 enjoyed only a brief existence; the visit of the French frigate *L'Artemise*, Captain Laplace, ". . . effectually repealed the liquor law . . ." at the same time that it ended the persecution of Catholics.⁹²

Many were the oxen gored; even those favored with licenses under the statute of March 20 waxed bilious. George Bush (Keoki Buki) complained to Kekuanaoa on October 15 that, although he had been given an exclusive right to sell spirits, many other stores were doing so illegally.⁹³

Although it doubtless remained true that "Malt can do more than Milton can/To ease the troubled state of man", there had certainly been

a disagreeable amount of pulling and hauling over the liquor question. This, however, should not be allowed to hide the fact that the law of August 21 imposed Hawaii's first customs duty, thereby initiating this standard feature of enlightened government.⁹⁴

At year's end Edward L. Gray was appointed inspector of wines and collector of duties. Reynolds, outraged, castigated Gray as one of Abner Kneeland's followers, who would work against Hawaii's commercial interests while yet giving powerful aid to the missionaries.⁹⁵ Kneeland, incidentally, was a one-time University preacher who became a radical anti-theist, rejecting the divine origin of the Scriptures. He was a darling of the free-thinkers.⁹⁶

Hawaii's mercantile life focused, of course, on Honolulu Harbor. This was one of the town's most dynamic areas, well equipped to provide safe anchorage, repair, refreshment and recreation, provisions, labor, merchandise, and all else needed by officers, passengers, or common sailors.⁹⁷ During 1837, sixty-seven foreign whaleships and thirty-four merchant ships, most of them American, had called, as had four men-of-war (three British and one French).⁹⁸ Their crews enjoyed fresh beef, vegetables, Irish and sweet potatoes, yams, beans, Indian corn, melons, bananas, pineapples, and the other comestibles that stocked Honolulu markets.⁹⁹

Resident foreigners owned eleven vessels trading to Canton, California, the Northwest Coast, Mexico, Peru, Chile, and Pacific islands to the south. Hawaiians owned nine craft, one of them being the king's bark of fourteen guns; the other eight carried on an interisland trade in salt, lumber, sandalwood, hogs, poi, fish, firewood, goat skins, cattle, hides, mats, tapas, and so forth—much of it collected as taxes by the king and chiefs.¹⁰⁰ Stephen Reynolds' journal is an excellent source for studying interisland and foreign trade. He conscientiously noted comings and goings, including much information about cargoes.

Ships from abroad brought a surprisingly varied assortment of necessities and luxuries. The age of machine production marched forward at an accelerating pace, and an expanding middle class eagerly explored the frontiers of consumerism invitingly opening before them. Those truly dedicated to conspicuous consumption began to scale pinnacles of ostentation. Honolulu was not immune to the fever, as Appendix A shows.

But the waterfront generated trouble as well as trade. Winds and weather could be grim adversaries in those days of sail. Under good conditions, a ship rounding "Diamond Hill" could make harbor quickly. If it was a night arrival, the vessel would fire a signal gun, lie off-port, and take on the pilot at daybreak.¹⁰¹

If circumstances were somewhat less favorable, a ship unable to sail in or out of the harbor could be towed, warped, or tracked—in the latter case, by gangs of Hawaiians walking along the reef and pulling a hawser.¹⁰² Even so, there could be complications. On March 26 Mr. and Mrs. William Richards arrived on the *Suffolk*. Levi Chamberlain went to Kekuanaoa, got a boat, and boarded the ship. The wind came up strong; the party waited on the *Suffolk* for a double canoe supposed to be sent out. It never showed up, so everybody bundled into the boat and rowed in, getting wet with spray.¹⁰³ The *Suffolk* didn't enter harbor until April 2.

Much worse was the affair of the *Rasselas* three months later. Under the best conditions the trip between Hilo and Honolulu could occupy less than four days.¹⁰⁴ But the *Rasselas* had very nearly the worst possible luck. With a load of about 170 head of cattle, she ran past Honolulu harbor in thick weather on Tuesday, June 19. Finally sighting the Waimea Hills on Wednesday morning, she spent four miserable days beating up, and on Sunday, June 24, stood off port. Reynolds hurried to the fort to see if Kekuanaoa would let Hawaiians go on the reef to track the ship in. The governor replied that they might do as they wished. Not one would go on the sabbath. But the next day the *Rasselas* was warped in.* Some seventy of the cattle were already dead, and many more died the next day.¹⁰⁵ It may have been necessary to take a 'win some, lose some' attitude. In April, the *Rasselas* had brought a deck-load of thirty-one horses on a twenty-two-day passage from Monterey and Santa Barbara. Twenty-four of these animals, auctioned off in Boki's yard, brought an average of \$60.00 each, a good price. Even here, however, Reynolds perceived sinister overtones. He wrote: "The natives, all or many of them, took account of the sale of the horses. Evil is brewing somewhere by the ill advice of malicious-minded wretches."¹⁰⁶ We must always wonder what he meant.

When weather was at its worst, ships could not enter (or leave) the harbor. This happened only too often.¹⁰⁷ Early in March, *kona* (southerly) winds delayed the *Factor's* departure for Canton for several days. On this occasion, Levi Chamberlain noted that "... we were able to multiply our letters . . .", with an expected delivery date in August.¹⁰⁸ And on December 20 he recorded a change of wind after an unusually long siege of *kona* weather that had lasted at least twenty-four days. Some vessels had been held up for nearly three weeks after being ready for sea.¹⁰⁹ The year had begun with about the same kind of situation.¹¹⁰

* In warping, one hauls on a line (warp) attached to some fixed object, as a buoy or anchor.

Nearly everyone seemed, indeed, to have an intense preoccupation with weather, recording thunder and lightning, gales, and uncommon squalls that sent dust flying fit to put one's eyes out, shoals of water on the plain between town and Waikiki after a nocturnal deluge, and other vagaries.¹¹¹ Muggy, humid spells saw many residents abandon the "metropolis" for more agreeable environments.¹¹²

Ships had to be smoked for 'mice'. Vessels came in with rotten hulls and masts which had to be surveyed and repaired or replaced. Some unfortunate craft ended their days as hulks at Robinson's Wharf next to the fort.¹¹³

These were routine problems. Special situations often demanded the attention of consuls and captains.* Naturally, activity escalated during the spring and fall whaling seasons. A selection of cases illustrates the sort of thing that went on:

John Foughlin, master of the Mexican schooner *Swallow*, ran a notice in the *Gazette*: All persons were cautioned against trusting the crew, as Foughlin refused to pay their debts.¹¹⁴

Friday the thirteenth of April proved unlucky for Captain Barker, hauled up for putting a mutinous *kanaka* ashore; during the activity, one of the captain's pistols went off.¹¹⁵

Captain Dudoit threatened to throw Captain Blinn overboard if he came aboard the *Clementine*. A month later, Reynolds had a heart-to-heart talk with Blinn (stay sober, do your duty).¹¹⁶

In July, Reynolds boarded the *Suffolk* to settle trouble with three seamen. Two of them got a dozen lashes; the third went to work.¹¹⁷

About two months later the acting consul was involved in the case of a man Kekuanaoa wanted Captain Allen to take on.¹¹⁸

In October, Charlton visited the *Folkstone* and had a man flogged for striking the captain the day before.¹¹⁹

But the *Albatross* won out as troublemaker of the year. This French whaler from Le Havre had touched at Honolulu for a few days in April and shipped eight Englishmen.¹²⁰ In August she was back again, in need of consular attention. Reynolds plodded on ship to deal with trouble fulminating when the crew refused to work without pay. The men agreed to receive \$2.00 each. This was on the eighth; twelve days later Reynolds had to make a repeat call for the same reason, and got the crew to work again. On the thirtieth, he wrote a certificate of his activities and boarded the ship for the third time, to have the crew acknowledge receipt of \$4.00 paid by Captain Hurtel.

* In 1838 Honolulu had three consuls: Richard Charlton, British; Stephen Reynolds, American (acting for John C. Jones, who returned to Hawaii on December 3); Henry A. Peirce, Peruvian. (Diell, 84).

Meanwhile the eight Englishmen had struck, quit the ship, and were lodged in the fort. There was no law to cover such shenanigans, but when Charlton and Hurtel visited Kekuanaoa, the governor ordered the strikers returned to their vessel.¹²¹ On September 1 Reynolds tried to get the men to resume their duties, but they flatly refused. Kekuanaoa was out fishing, so nothing could be done. At three in the afternoon Captains Rhodes and Hurtel came to Reynolds with a constable, who was demanding that the strikers be put aboard, as they couldn't be left behind.¹²² Hurtel and Reynolds repaired to the fort. Kekuanaoa, back from his expedition, had reassumed the panoply of office. Hurtel had Reynolds ask that the seamen be allowed to stay ashore. Kekuanaoa said no. Reynolds then produced and read a document recommending that the strikers be imprisoned for six months, and then be allowed to remain in Hawaii. Kekuanaoa bristled, saying hotly that Charlton had already settled the matter, that the government wouldn't be dictated to, and that it was none of Reynolds' business, anyhow.¹²³

The constable then told those Hawaiians who had shipped on the *Albatross* that they should stay on land until the English sailors were taken on—a squeeze play *sans finesse*. Reynolds wanted this in writing. Kekuanaoa declined, told Reynolds to hold his tongue, and ordered him out three or four times. Taking this very blunt suggestion, Hurtel and Reynolds at last turned to go, but before they crossed the threshold they heard Kekuanaoa order the constable to put the recalcitrant Englishmen aboard the *Albatross*. Hurtel hastened to that much-beset ship and hoisted his colors, which on this occasion democratically included English, American, and French flags. Then, about five o'clock, he returned ashore with a letter from Kekuanaoa which that official would not allow to be translated. By this time another nationality had become involved, in the person of a Chinese messenger. Hurtel gave notice of protest, and this rang down the curtain on September 1.

On the morrow Kekuanaoa told Captain Alex. Adams that the French ship might go when ready. Hurtel wrote a second letter, saying that he should consider his vessel detained unless the Hawaiians he had shipped and paid advances to were aboard by four p.m. Some went aboard. In answer to Hurtel's first communication, Kekuanaoa replied that Charlton had told the governor that the captain would take away the Englishmen when the *Albatross* sailed. Thus September 2 ended.

On the third, Hurtel got a note from Kekuanaoa, desiring the captain to appear with Charlton. Hurtel ignored it. Later Hurtel and Charlton met at Mr. Welch's. Charlton said that Kekuanaoa and Kinau wanted to converse. Hurtel balked, Charlton left, and the *Albatross* sailed at

three p.m.—but not before leaving a letter for the captain of the first French man-of-war to touch Hoholulu.

The next day Charlton and Captain Rhodes met at Dr. Espener's (probably referring to the Warren Hotel). They fell into a dispute about Captain Hurtel. Name-calling ensued, and finally Charlton threw a heavy tumbler at Rhodes. It was a narrow miss. The quarrel continued violently. Charlton said he had a good pair of pistols at home: Let's walk up there and shoot it out across a table. Too far, replied Rhodes; let's fight it out here. But at this point bystanders intervened.¹²⁴

Other trouble spots appeared. An English sailor, intending to desert, got an apprentice lad to go ashore with him in a boat. He then left the boy to return alone. Strong winds made the boat unmanageable. It was driven out of the harbor into the open sea. Providentially, after twelve hours the boy was able to get in at Puuloa. The sailor was acquitted of murderous intention, but by making false statements he had prevented any attempt at rescue.¹²⁵ This may have been the case Kekuanaoa wrote about to Captain Palmer of the British whaleship *Alert*: his sailor was not guilty of assault and battery, but owed \$10.00 for making a false statement, and another \$6.00 for desertion.¹²⁶

The official axe also nicked the fair sex. In December, five young ladies swam out to a whaleship in search of amorous adventures. Put ashore, they soon found themselves in the fort. In court, each paid \$1.00 and got five days' work credit. From there they went to labor at Makapu'u for forty-seven more days.¹²⁷

Considering the high jinks—and worse—that went on, it is little wonder that the Rev. Diell, in his description of Honolulu, wrote of the "score or more" of sailors lodged on the bare ground in the fort for weeks or months, subsisting on taro, salt, and water.¹²⁸ One reason for such lengthy sojourns was that somebody—usually a consul or a captain—had to produce cash to get the men out. On October 1, for example, Kekuanaoa reminded Charlton that he wouldn't release certain English sailors until their captain had paid \$6.00 for each.¹²⁹

As part of his consular duties, Reynolds visited his countrymen in the fort's prison. On a summer day he called on one Cooper and found him dirty, with a bruise on his shin, a black eye, and a head wound. Reynolds sent clean clothes and Dr. Ford to bleed the man.¹³⁰ Less than a week later he looked in on a certain Billings, who was in a tub washing himself. Fortunately, his leg was getting better.¹³¹ But one of Captain Allen's men was in a fury, threatening to stick his knife in anyone who offered to lay a hand on him, to put him in irons, or to tender any other indignities.

Ah, well. Early on the morning of November 27, five ships lay in the Honolulu roads, making signals to come in or go off. During the night

the wind had blown up suddenly, and was now booming a heavy kona gale. Four vessels made it in safely in the forenoon. The fifth, the whaleship *Oscar*, Captain Daggett, took anchor to go to sea. But, unable to clear the shore, she had fallen to leeward of the passage and couldn't enter. She tried to get a hold on the bottom, but one anchor dragged, and the chain of the second broke. *Oscar*, with no grip, piled on the reef, hoisting sails to get into the best position to save the cargo. She swung round and stood nearly upright. About two o'clock the crew abandoned ship, and Kekuanaoa agreed with Daggett to save what he could for one-fourth salvage.¹³² All hands, their dunnage, and some whale oil were rescued.¹³³ The gale subsided that night, a Tuesday, and unloading went on from Wednesday morning until Friday evening. During the latter night at high tide the ship got off, and on Saturday morning was towed to Ladd and Co's. Wharf, with some oil still aboard.¹³⁴

Reynolds and Kekuanaoa now got into a foofaraw over the salvage. Each chose two referees to decide the matter. With judgment rendered (but not to Reynolds' satisfaction), the affair ended when *Oscar's* hull sold at auction for \$7,500.00 on December 10.¹³⁵

In 1838 a couple of marine adventures stirred unusual interest. On February 6, H.B.M. Schooner *True Blue*, Captain Blunt, sent to Ocean Island on a rescue mission, returned with sixty-three crewmen of the *Gladstone*. The cruise had taken fifty-five days.¹³⁶

In January a subscription paper had been going around to fit out the British schooner *Flibbertygibbett* to search for Captain J. I. Dowsett. The captain had disappeared in 1834 on a voyage to China, reportedly having been cut off at the Pescadores Islands. This project still hung fire in May. Apparently some questioned it, but one champion asserted that it was as much an object of charity as the support of a school for bastard children. This unmistakably slighting reference to the Oahu Charity School of course inflamed Reynolds, who dismissed the remark's author as "... a knave too pitiful to be despised."¹³⁷ Actually the *Flibbertygibbett* sailed for California about the first of June to look for an island reported by Captain Paty and returned, frustrated by thick fog, in the middle of September.¹³⁸ She left again less than two weeks later on a sealing voyage.¹³⁹

The most—indeed the only—imposing feature of the waterfront was Honolulu's twenty-one-year-old coral stone fort, with which we have some acquaintance. In the town this symbolic structure was animal, vegetable, and mineral. As the official seat of the powerful Governor Kekuanaoa, it figured largely in his business with consuls, mariners, and citizens of every degree. For example, since the governor had to approve real estate transfers, those desiring his nod had to repair to the fort.¹⁴⁰

The open quadrangle served as parade ground for the government's much-maligned troops, the walls as gun emplacements, and the noisome cells as temporary—or sometimes final—quarters for those unfortunate enough to take up residence there. It was a varied assortment of male-factors, to be sure. Errant seamen were by no means alone in sampling the amenities of this subtropical seaside hoosegow. The judges sitting nearby at Halekauila fed their clients to the lockup. A constellation of cases:

The wife-beater: \$50.00 or five months.¹⁴¹

The constitutional liar, for falsehood without profit: \$10.00 or four months.¹⁴²

Captain King, for starring in "A Sudden Case of Adultery": \$10.00. The woman was relieved of \$30.00, and the procurers were adorned with handcuffs.¹⁴³

A. Woodward, who appeared with Jose Nadal in a civil dispute: assessed \$10.00.¹⁴⁴

Two cattle-stealers: Flogged in the fort, and fined \$18.00 each.¹⁴⁵

Alex. Tolman, for cause unknown: lodged in the fort; had to borrow \$20.00 from "the Chinaman" to get out.¹⁴⁶

The three ghouls: at nine o'clock one February morning, Reynolds got word that some of the U.S. Consulate's boarders had entered the "cemetery" of Anthony D. Allen, forced the glass in the top of the coffin, and taken out a watch interred therein. The "house" was examined, and sure enough, the window had been entered. There was no watch in the casket. At the fort two men confessed, only denying that they had taken the watch, as they couldn't find it. While the questioning was in progress, blacksmith John N. Colcord called Reynolds and Charlton outside. There he said that the watch had been stolen long before by a man [named] who was now dead.¹⁴⁷ At the trial next day Harvey S. Ball, Enos Goff, and Tom Sharp (?) were sentenced to a year's hard labor each for breaking and entering, stealing (apparently, a bone from the corpse), and disturbing the dead—a seemingly difficult feat.¹⁴⁸

P. Wright: tried at the fort for stealing from B.F. Church, he explained the four-dollar piece he had by saying that a Hawaiian had given it to him for repairing an axe, and had got \$3.00 in change. Wright was sent out under guard to find the Hawaiian.¹⁴⁹

An anonymous Hawaiian: caught plying a stick with a small hook on the end of it, he had been literally "hooking" goods from a retail store. He himself was retailed to jail.¹⁵⁰

An even more anonymous someone: cut a hole through Benjamin Pitman's house and extracted \$50.00 or \$60.00 worth of stuff.¹⁵¹

Another unknown burglar: broke open Mrs. Corney's house and vandalized it while the lady and her family were in the country.¹⁵²

An unidentified clutch of rogues: employed their talents in a round of nocturnal break-ins.¹⁵³

Pranksters: these, if indeed they were such, removed the curb from the well in front of Mr. Pitman's store, thereby endangering the lives of their neighbors.¹⁵⁴

John H. Taylor, the robbed thief: this young man, who had worked for a number of Honolulu businessmen, was found pilfering money from the iron chest of Messrs. Peirce and Brewer. Taylor called in Reynolds when Brewer rifled Taylor's desk, taking money and notes, and also confiscated the Taylor watch, then at "the Chinaman's" for repair. Captain Bancroft, investigating, confirmed Brewer's acts. These, according to Reynolds, made Brewer even more liable than Taylor.¹⁵⁵

While Honolulu's criminal population pursued their varied careers, others labored—in some instances quite self-consciously—to bring "culture" to the island community. As elsewhere, the schools were supposed to be the springboard to progress along this rather indistinct line, and to achieve it by furnishing a sort of *reductio ad absurdum* of what human ingenuity had wrought to date.

The town harbored two mission schools: that of Mr. and Mrs. A. S. Cooke, with 225 scholars, and that of the Rev. Lowell Smith, opened early in January, with 220. Mission students were supposed to pay for their books, a responsibility that inspired various fund-raising devices, including trips to the distant mountains in search of wood [sandal-wood?].¹⁵⁶

Most interesting, perhaps, was the Oahu Charity School, organized primarily to educate the part-Hawaiian children of foreign residents. Early in 1838 it served fifty-five or sixty pupils under the tutelage of Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Johnstone.¹⁵⁷ Periodic meetings of subscribers convened at various spots around town—the Oahu Hotel, the Pagoda, the Warren Hotel.¹⁵⁸ In January of 1838 new officers were chosen.¹⁵⁹ A number of other citizens were enrolled as subscribers.¹⁶⁰ In May, Reynolds went out to get pledges and did well; he totaled \$128.00, with the biggest donation (\$26.00) coming from "the Chinaman." From that high, pledges receded to as little as \$5.00.¹⁶¹ Another sum of \$453.50 was realized from the sale of small items sent by a Mrs. Saunders from London.¹⁶²

An Oahu Amateur Theatre had been revived late in 1836, but whether it still functioned in 1838 is conjectural.¹⁶³ There certainly was, however, a Sandwich Island Institute, of somewhat rarefied intellectuality, with thirty-one resident and eleven honorary members. It had been organized

in November, 1837, with the typical nineteenth-century goal of "intellectual and moral improvement", although it is hard to picture the membership as degenerates in desperate search of redemption. This group occupied the former Masters' and Officers' Room at the Seamen's Bethel. Its board of managers had fitted up the chamber for a library and a museum of natural history and Pacific artifacts, some of which were already on hand. The Institute showed a laudably scientific bent in emphasizing the collection of *facts*. President P. A. Brinsmade had recently departed for the U.S., being succeeded by vice-president T. C. B. Rooke at the end of 1837.¹⁶⁴

Publications enlightening Honolulu included:¹⁶⁵

<i>Founding Date</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Publisher</i>
1834	<i>Kumu Hawaii</i> (Hawaiian Teacher)	semi-monthly	Mission
1837	<i>Kumu Kamalii</i> (Children's Teacher)	monthly	Mission
1836	<i>Sandwich Island Gazette</i>	weekly	S. D. Macintosh
1838	<i>Hawaiian Spectator</i>	quarterly	"an association of gentlemen"

As might have been expected, the *Gazette* and the *Spectator* failed to please all. Reynolds, for example, said the latter held "... not much truth and less sense", predictably calling pieces by Clarke and Bingham "puerile, slanderous and scandalous."¹⁶⁶

The *Gazette*, pioneer English-language newspaper in Hawaii, deserves comment. During its three-year life (July, 1836–July, 1839) it opposed both the Hawaiian government and the American mission—no small challenge in a tight little isle. Its four pages brought local events, opinions, foreign "news", literary gleanings, moral instruction, and the oppressively detailed offerings of Honolulu merchants to the attention of the literate. And it played a familiar, dear role in the daily ritual. One foreigner began his letter thus: "This morning while luxuriating over a cup of good coffee, accompanied with delicate morsels which might have tempted a gastronome; the *Gazette* lying beside me. . . ."¹⁶⁷ When he actually picked it up, he must have made short work of it. After all, there were only those four pages once a week, and much of them was occupied with repetitious lists of crockery, clothing, comestibles, chandlery, and so forth. Those wanting to read farther afield were invited to sample the files of foreign newspapers kept by Macintosh for the perusal of friends and patrons.¹⁶⁸

Editor Stephen D. Macintosh had several irons in the fire. As merchant, he formed Macintosh and Co. on January 1, 1837, with partners Nelson Hall and Samuel A. Cushing. Hall left the firm on October 11, and the struggling partnership was dissolved on the last day of March,

1838.¹⁶⁹ The business, then carried on by Macintosh alone during his remaining months in Hawaii, featured retail sales and auctioneering.

The *Gazette* was no bonanza. It stood for sobriety, respect for law, redress of grievances by constitutional means, and for the duty of foreigners to refer wrongs to their home governments. But it couldn't make money.¹⁷⁰ Instead, it whirled endlessly through a galaxy of adversities. By July, 1838, its old press was worn out and its type ruinous. Macintosh turned to the only possible source of help—the mission press at Kawaiahao. The printing committee there deliberated: the only way to help would be to actually print the paper, and this was not justified.¹⁷¹

Already the hard-pressed publisher had made a plea for cash and other contributions, since the *Gazette* had never been able to pay expenses from subscriptions. Next year he wanted to show a profit. Patrons were urged to take a few extra issues at the regular \$6.00 a year, or twenty-five cents a single copy. It was now a matter of life or death. "We will take any tangible substance for our paper", Macintosh promised—bullock hides, tea, sperm oil, brown cotton, California beans, potatoes, tortoise shell, anything at all.¹⁷²

By August the editor was feeling poorly. He took a short breather on the island of Hawaii and returned in good health to resume his burdens.¹⁷³ Things were no better. The *Gazette* had been advertising for a book-binder to work up Vol. II, but without success. Again Macintosh approached the mission press, to receive another rebuff.¹⁷⁴

At the end of October the editor-merchant tried another gambit: he played luncheon host at his residence, Oahuena Cottage. Sandwiches, turkey salad, coffee, claret, and water made up part of the menu. Patrons, well-wishers, masters and officers of vessels in port (who often contributed useful and interesting maritime news) were invited.¹⁷⁵ Many showed up for the eleven o'clock affair, and the "very nice collation" won praise.¹⁷⁶

In November, the *Gazette* was trying to lure an apprentice to learn printing.¹⁷⁷ At the same time it was having circulation trouble. Hawaiian carriers just wouldn't deliver papers promptly, and Macintosh notified subscribers that they would have to request a replacement within a week or pay the usual twenty-five cents.¹⁷⁸ If conditions on Oahu were regrettable, those hamstringing interisland distribution were desperate—to the extent that Macintosh eventually more or less washed his hands of them.¹⁷⁹ Then the pesky press acted up again, causing many bad impressions on inside pages. These faulty numbers were circulated accidentally, and had to be exchanged for fair copies.¹⁸⁰

Macintosh decided to pull out of business, the *Gazette*, and Hawaii. In the middle of December he asked that all accounts pro and con be

settled by January 1, 1839, and announced an imminent auction of the contents of Oahuena Cottage.¹⁸¹ A week later he summoned friends and patrons of the moribund *Gazette* to meet at the Warren Hotel on December 27 to consider the paper's disposition. At the same time he wished a Merry Christmas to all.¹⁸²

The meeting set the *Gazette's* value at \$450.00 and resolved to open the paper to public subscription, intending to continue publication to the end of Vol. III. Shares would be \$10.00 each. Because of the short notice, another meeting would take place on January 4, 1839 at the same location. Asserting their adherence to Macintosh's policy, pursued with a vengeance—" . . . the advocacy of free religious and political discussion"—a sort of *Who's Who* of the consular and commercial community pledged support. Folk about the village got a pretty good idea of who their friends were.

While it lasted, the *Gazette* was a sturdy champion of island agriculture and enterprise. It noted the arrival of sugar from Ladd and Co's. Kauai plantation, which was expected to produce at least 100 tons during the year. The asking price for raw sugar in January was \$15.00 per hundred pounds, or fifteen cents a pound.¹⁸³ In March a rude sugar mill, worked by a single mule, had been operating for a short time in Honolulu. Some Chinese, aided by Hawaiians and the foreign prisoners at the fort, had begun production. Macintosh visited the mill " . . . and felt our heart hop like an indian-rubber ball to witness this foundation stone of Sandwich Island prosperity."¹⁸⁴

The newspaper got samples of Oahu rice and of coffee, the latter from Captain Smith's place in Kalihi Valley.¹⁸⁵ Some months earlier the editor had reported hearing that missionaries had rooted up coffee plants as an obstacle to the Hawaiians' salvation.¹⁸⁶ The *Gazette* boosted the export of exotic woods. It also encouraged a local brickmaking industry; when it got reports of successful experiments with soil found near Honolulu, it hailed the feat of clay. But Macintosh foresaw farming as the economic wave of the future. Prosperity, he predicted, would come from coffee and sugar.¹⁸⁷

Honolulu was generally considered to have a climate favorable to people as well as plants. Maria Chamberlain wrote that there had been no prevailing sickness since her arrival. Missionary children escaped measles, whooping cough, and similar childhood afflictions, though they lacked the energy and red cheeks displayed in colder lands.¹⁸⁸

Apparently the Hawaiians were not so fortunate. At the start of 1838, many were dying daily, and " . . . the sound of public wailing rarely [ceased] in the village."¹⁸⁹ Certainly a sober account came from Dr. Alonzo Chapin, who practiced at different places in Hawaii for three and

a half years (1832-1835). After his return to the U.S. because of his wife's continuing poor health (she lived to be eighty-one), he wrote a summary of his professional observations:¹⁹⁰

Hawaiians' health woes began in childhood, he believed. Parental ignorance and indifference caused much unnecessary suffering and disease. Little ones were often left to lie cold and crying all night, while great neglect of cleanliness brought ulcers at the folds of joints, the buttocks, and vagina.¹⁹¹ The same want of hygiene showed itself in the wearing of filthy tapa, foul and vermin-infested.¹⁹²

Related to this general absence of fastidiousness were several of the most common ailments:

Ophthalmia of the purulent form, accompanied by opaque corneas and thickened coats, abounded among young and old. Chapin blamed trade winds blowing salt spray.¹⁹³

Itch and scabrous skin diseases, with pustules combining into large ulcers, were very common.¹⁹⁴

Diarrhea and dysentery caused much misery. Hawaiians were inclined to immoderate use of the most drastic cathartics, such as the pulp of the calabash, castor oil seeds, and kukui nuts.¹⁹⁵

Scrofula [swelling and/or tuberculosis of the lymph glands, especially of the neck], was both frequent and malignant. Chapin laid it to the Hawaiians' habit of keeping animals and fowls in their houses.¹⁹⁶

Venereal disease had made shocking inroads, reinforced by nearly every vessel that touched Hawaii. Foul ulcers were seen everywhere, noses destroyed, eyes blind, mouths drawn askew, palates ulcerating, arms and legs almost useless. Chapin saw little hope of improvement, as Hawaiians had no cure, and most let the disease go on until complicating diseases appeared.* The later effects included widespread sterility among the people.¹⁹⁷

Rheumatism was often seen, but was usually mild; the same was true of the various endemic fevers.¹⁹⁸

Apoplexy (stroke), a privilege reserved for the "small wealthy class", accompanied inactivity and gross obesity, Chapin noted. This affluent group ate inordinately, distending their stomachs four or five times daily with "truly surprising quantities" of flesh and poi.¹⁹⁹ The king himself, although only twenty-five, may have suffered a slight stroke in August, 1838. B. Mahune wrote to Kanoa and Kekuanaoa: "The king's head leans to the right, and his right arm is rather paralyzed, also in sitting down and walking. But he is better. No more pain."²⁰⁰

* Chapin didn't have a cure either. On one especially horrible sufferer he used—with "benefit"—the often-prescribed mercury, itself a disastrous poison.

Despite Chapin's list of afflictions, he concluded that Hawaiian diseases were neither numerous nor complex. And to recapitulate, he ranked as most common, in approximate order: fevers, ophthalmia, catarrh, asthma, rheumatism, venereal disease, diarrhea, dysentery, skin diseases, scrofula, and dropsy.²⁰¹ Whatever contributory causes felled Hawaiians, stress was not among them. They walked slowly, rested long and often, did everything in a leisurely way, and were accustomed to siestas during the hottest part of the day.²⁰²

Honolulu's foreign community was less disposed to inactivity. Indeed, the *Gazette* flatly blamed the world's troubles on fast living.²⁰³ Nowhere was the pace more wearing than in the eight or ten houses of "refreshment and entertainment" that catered to visiting sailors. Refreshment and entertainment were synonyms for booze, and the transient seamen pawned clothes, chests, books and instruments to enjoy their share of the 5,000 or 6,000 gallons of rum and other spirits consumed yearly in Honolulu.²⁰⁴ If they ended up broke and sick from their indiscretions—or from less blameworthy causes—they were likely to become objects of consular charity. During the last quarter of 1837, the British consul had helped sixty seamen at a cost of \$888.81, and doubtless his American counterpart had laid out considerably more.²⁰⁵ Unfortunately, Reynolds' calculations were not clearly recorded.²⁰⁶

In 1837–1838 John C. Jones rented a place at Waikiki for sailors on his hands. This location was a vast improvement over the grog-shop where the sick had been quartered previously. Even on such squalid facilities the U.S. government had spent an average of \$2,500 during each of the four years, 1834–1837.²⁰⁷ The amount of course fluctuated, not only because the clientele varied in number, but also because the consul, in the absence of a government hospital, had to put out for bid the contract for boarding, lodging, and nursing.²⁰⁸ The rolls could expand dramatically if a ship came in with scurvy-ridden or otherwise ailing crewmen who had to be put ashore.²⁰⁹ Who could be turned away? Reynolds complained at year's end that Jones had taken in a Negro, a Portuguese, and a Frenchman, and asked, "Why not an Englishman?"²¹⁰

Resident foreigners seemed more likely to patronize "the" hotel than the saloons. At 1838's start this establishment was the Oahu Hotel, on Honolulu's unesthetic waterfront at the makai-waikiki corner of what are now Nuuanu and Merchant Streets. Amos Knight and George Manini had opened it in March 1826, and after their deaths it had fallen to the charge of Stephen Reynolds.²¹¹ For twelve years it served as a boarding house for ship captains and Honolulu businessmen, and as a kind of social center for the seaport's foreign community. But it collapsed under the pressure of hard times, and breakfast was spread for the last

time on March 7, 1832. Sadly, Reynolds closed up. Chairs, knives, forks, spoons, and some cooking utensils went to Dr. Edward Espener. Reynolds' "little things" were sold off, along with George Manini's effects; Reynolds himself went to board with Captain Grimes.²¹² Debts consumed the "profits", and the premises were all worn out. Reynolds salvaged what he could to send to Amos' son, George Marine Knight, in the U.S.²¹³ Three weeks after the closing George Pelly rented the hotel yard for \$25.00 a month, to store lumber in.²¹⁴

Although the Oahu Hotel's soups, meats, and puddings were now only a memory, the inn's successor was already in business. This was the revived Warren Hotel, on the mauka side of Hotel Street, ewa of Fort Street. Major William K. Warren had come to Hawaii in advance of the missionaries and opened his place in the 1820s; he left in February, 1838. Espener, having bought some of the Oahu Hotel's furnishings, gave a dinner for about twenty-five at his new house on March 7.²¹⁵ Commodious and comfortable buildings had been put up—"a long range of sleeping rooms" and "a superior dining hall". A poem celebrating the delights of Warren's cuisine, published at the Major's departure, summarized hotel fare of the time:

Cups of coffee quaff'd at ease,
Legs of mutton, eat with peas,
Good corn'd beef, with cabbage boil'd
Table cloth (with gravy soil'd),
Spread with pisco-punch so fine,
Beer, champagne, and first rate wine,
Turkeys, chickens, turtle soup,
Roasted plover—quite a troop!
Onions, craw-fish, pigeons, salad—
Then the Major's favorite ballad!²¹⁶

Merchants, mariners, missionaries, and "mechanics" were the big four of Honolulu's foreign population. Their various affinities and antipathies fragmented social life. Conceptions of class and "respectability" operated powerfully, and this seaport's modest facilities limited recreation, much of which involved dissipation of some sort. Hawaiians, of course, lived in their own world. Commoners and foreigners met on the streets and in the stores, or in more intimate liaisons. Royalty and the high chiefs did mix socially with haoles on occasions which tended toward stiff formality. Teas, luaus, picnics up in the valleys, dinners, miscellaneous parties, and "balls" abounded. There were a few variations; one was promised by this sign, fixed to a gatepost on May 25: "I Lewis Titus offers to Rassel with any man in Oahu for the sum of

twenty-five dollars the best in three—Square hold.”²¹⁷ About the same time “the quill” (Macintosh) and a gentleman resident set out on a walking match. They went from town to the bullock pen near Diamond Hill and back in two hours and eight minutes.²¹⁸ Noteworthy, too, were such affairs as an all-night spree at the Warren Hotel, and a drinking bout for Hawaiians in the king’s stone house.²¹⁹

Visiting vessels brought new faces, and shipboard festivities—even including fire-works—were welcome diversions.²²⁰ The advent of HBMS *Fly* in September sweetened the punch to a rare degree. A passenger, Polish Count Strzelecki, was a charmer, while Captain Russell Elliott, after honoring the chiefs with a salute of guns, tried in a private, low-key way to heal dissensions. As a master stroke, he persuaded British Consul Charlton to visit Missionary Bingham for the first time in years. Polite and respectful to all, Elliott had asked the consul what was to hinder his being on good terms with Bingham. Charlton said nothing. How could he, snarled Reynolds to his journal, with all his libels of the mission hanging over his head?²²¹

Special occasions punctuated the year, though these too found the same people orbiting about each other. None shone brighter than the Fourth of July, celebrating the sixty-second anniversary of American independence. Plans started early. On the evening of May 28, U.S. residents in Hawaii met at the Warren Hotel.²²² Two days later William Paty was circulating a subscription list for a dinner.²²³ Early on the festive morn Alex. Smith fired thirteen guns from the old Oahu Hotel wharf. Fifes and drums, horns and fiddles trilled, rolled, blatted, and scraped. Twenty-six guns boomed at noon, and thirteen more at sunset—all, fortunately, without accident. One group of revelers went to Waikiki and another to Thomas Cummings’ place in Nuuanu.²²⁴ “Mechanics”—an inferior breed—held parties; non-Americans joined in heartily and, according to the *Gazette*, “Even the kanakas frisked and capered with delight.” The dust of Honolulu’s half-finished streets flew thick as riders on horseback and in carriages dashed to and fro. Picnickers gathered in the valleys and along the seashore. Pigtailed Chinese servants and male-clad Hawaiians toted baskets of champagne, turkeys, pigs, and taro. In town celebrants dined on turtle soup and roast beef as Eliab Grimes, F. J. Greenway, and Stephen Reynolds “kept the village”.²²⁵

Thanksgiving was pale by comparison. Mission families and their congregations held sober observances in imitation of the New England custom. All members of the “station” gathered at Dr. Judd’s for dinner and at the Rev. Bingham’s for tea and for social and religious meetings.²²⁶

“A Happy Christmas to all,” was Reynolds’ wish on December 25. It wasn’t an especially big day. The Hawaiians were planting sugar cane

for Bingham up in Nuuanu Valley, but the coopers refused to work, which delayed loading oil in the *Plymouth*. There was some visiting back and forth; in the evening Dr. Espener hosted a party of twenty-five at his hotel, and that was pretty much it.

New Year's brought more general merriment. On the night of December 28, a meeting at the Warren Hotel tried to plan a ball for the Eve, then chose a committee to make arrangements. The result was a grand bash, by subscription of course, at the hotel on January 1.²²⁷

In recounting the pleasures of Honolulu's elite, it is easy to forget that not all foreigners lived so comfortably. Some scraped by miserably. Take the case of Edmund R. Butler, who sent a beseeching note to the king: his wife and daughter were almost naked. Could His Majesty spare a piece of blue cotton or calico?²²⁸

Even for the select, Honolulu was hardly a mid-Pacific oasis of happy communion. Major rents, along with minor snarls and runs, disfigured the social fabric. Gossip circulated freely. Petty quarrels erupted. Animositites surfaced at evening parties. There were accusations, apologies, and threats of flogging.²²⁹

And so it went, as Honolulu ticked through the year. It was typical of the period when a vigorous whaling industry surged toward its climax. Beyond that lay the decades of the sugar plantations, already anticipated in the Hawaii of 1838.

APPENDIX A

GOODS ADVERTISED FOR SALE IN THE *Sandwich Island Gazette*

ON JANUARY 6, JUNE 2, AND DECEMBER 29, 1838

BY WILLIAM FRENCH AND BY PEIRCE AND BREWER

imitation French calicoes
plaited candle sticks
bread baskets
pitchers
metal tea and coffee pots
knives and forks
astral lamps and shades
India rubber suspenders
looking glasses
boys' clothing in suits
table cloths
boards, planks, joists
timber
spars

ginghams and stripes
Columbian stripes
blankets
Milton tickings
muslins
long cloths
Merino cloths
edgings
laces
spool cotton
bedspreads
Jean stripes
cambrics
listados

black and blue satins
 black silk and Bengal handkerchiefs
 crockery ware
 glassware
 window glass
 mamaki kapas
 sugar
 molasses
 coffee
 cocoa
 vinegar
 salt beef
 salt pork
 nails
 firewood
 paint oil
 camphor trunks
 blue nankeen
 brown, white and blue cotton
 cotton and linen thread
 umbrellas
 hats
 shoes
 Manila cigars
 playing cards
 powder and shot
 sole leather
 China clothes baskets
 ready-made clothing
 bleached and brown cottons
 American and China blue cottons
 duck frocks and trousers
 white shirts
 satin and hair stock
 beaver and palm leaf hats
 hosiery
 plain and ruled paper
 assorted blank books
 quills
 assorted blanks
 steel pens
 ink powder
 lead and slate pencils
 sandpaper
 letter writers
 canvas

Verona, cotton, red and scarlet pongee
 and black silk handkerchiefs
 boots
 blue and yellow nankeens
 straw carpeting
 writing desks
 diaper towels
 linen drilling
 wickyarn
 corsets
 combs
 bone buttons
 bishop's lawn
 satins
 Levantines
 sinshaws
 sarsnetts
 sewing silk
 figured silks
 Italian lutestring
 silk velvet
 white and brown grass cloth
 gauze veils
 silk braid
 elastics
 silk hose
 mosquito netting
 silk jackets
 dress and frock coats
 trousers and shirts
 nankeen jackets
 brown, white, Castile and California
 soap
 codfish
 Stoughton's elixir
 ketchup
 shoe blacking
 sweetmeats
 shingles
 lathes
 covered buckets
 wooden tubs
 churns
 Hingham boxes
 wooden hand pumps
 axe handles

Russian sheeting
 twine
 sail needles
 Manila and hemp cordage
 paints
 spirits of turpentine
 litharge
 brushes
 sperm oil and candles
 marline
 log-lines
 red and yellow ochre
 copal varnish
 oars
 handspikes
 blocks
 hanks
 mast hoops
 chain cable
 teas
 wines
 sago
 chocolate
 American rice
 pepper
 salad oil
 lemon syrup
 cordials
 gin
 cider
 Boston ale
 Hodgson's beer
 soy
 spices
 corks
 pincers
 shovels
 spades
 bolts
 Japanned lamps
 brass knobs
 shutter hooks
 escutcheons
 hat pins
 flash pins
 door buttons

gig harness
 sail boat
 cut, wrought iron, brass, and copper
 nails
 tacks
 knives
 gouges
 files
 locks
 wood axes
 hatchets
 broad axes
 hammers
 gimblets
 hand saws
 iron-backed saws
 spoke shaves
 braces and bits
 planes
 adzes
 brick trowels
 chalk lines
 spoons
 coffee mills
 fry pans
 sauce pans
 cast and sheet iron bake pans
 tin pans and pots
 butchers' cleavers
 steelyards and spring balances
 chest handles
 latches
 iron and brass butt hinges
 halter and jack chains
 scrapers
 screws
 brads
 sheet iron
 palm irons
 speaking trumpets
 chisels
 grindstones
 powchong, souchong, hyson and
 Congo teas
 Carolina rice
 salmon

table casters
tin canisters
red screws and keys
window springs
soup and gravy ladles
padlocks
brass and iron sieves
wire strainers
Brittania tumblers
coffee roasters
toast irons
razors
thimbles
sheet iron
hooks and eyes
palms
pen knives
percussion caps
muskets
flints
sad irons
liquor cranes
brass cocks
drawing knives
fish hooks
shoe brushes
assorted baskets
fans
rattan chairs
shell combs
tea caddies
decanter stands
verdigris
chrome green in oil and powder
white lead
lamp black
chrome yellow
Prussian blue
linseed and kukui oil
pitch
rosin
guernsey frocks
red flannel
mackerel
bread
mess beef

tobacco
wine vinegar
arrowroot
nappies
demijohns
plain and cut decanters
glass dishes
wine glasses
chamber pots
leather
empty casks
Holland's gin
oakum
coal tar
cordials and bitters
stationery
eau de cologne
window sashes
sherry
patent window blinds
silk hats
iron pots
basins
skillets
kettles
high pans
spiders
tinware
cups and saucers
flat and soup plates
round dishes
wash bowls
mugs
tumblers
glass lamps
lamp shades
salts
castors
lanterns
bedspreads
woollen hosiery
pantaloon stuff
vesting
house paper
Chinese matting
neatsfoot oil

Trieste baskets	mustard seed
damask robes	castor oil nuts
blue gurrahn	beef and pork in barrels
Bengalchecks	pulu
furniture prints	tanned goat skins
buckskin and kid gloves	casks and staves
cotton velvet	rum and brandy
worsted frocks	English porter
oil cloth	naval stores
kid skins	rafters, 12 and 18 feet long
linen damask	Columbia River butter
grass cloth handkerchiefs	Columbia River flour
satin suspenders	copper patent English pumps
lead-colored and invisible green broadcloths	

INCLUDING A FEW ITEMS OFFERED BY GEORGE PELLY AND BY HENRY PATY AND CO.

NOTES

- ¹ Stephen Reynolds' Journal, March 26, April 27, 1838. Microfilm, HHS. Cited hereafter as Reynolds. Unless it is other than 1838, the year will be omitted in citation of all sources.
- ² Aug. 20. Maria Patton Chamberlain Letters, I (1827-1840), HMCS.
- ³ Levi Chamberlain's Journal, XXII, 21 (April 7), HMCS. Cited hereafter as Chamberlain.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, XXIII, 1 (Oct. 9).
- ⁵ Reynolds, April 27.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, May 5.
- ⁷ John Diell, "Sketch of Honolulu, Oahu," *The Hawaiian Spectator*, I, No. 2 (April), 83.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, 84; SIG, Mar. 17.
- ⁹ Sept. 8.
- ¹⁰ Alonzo Chapin, M. D., "Climate and Diseases of the Sandwich Islands," *The Hawaiian Spectator*, I, No. 3 (July), 266. Reprinted from No. 39 of the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*. Chapin's observations were based on three and a half years' practice. He left Hawaii in 1835.
- ¹¹ Diell, 84.
- ¹² Diell, 84; Reynolds, Nov. 19.
- ¹³ Diell, 84.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 84, 85.
- ¹⁵ SIG, July 28; John N. Colcord's Journal, 32. AH.
- ¹⁶ SIG, June 23; Reynolds, May 5.
- ¹⁷ SIG, June 23.
- ¹⁸ Dec. 30.
- ¹⁹ Reynolds, Jan. 23, 24. In September, 1836, the SIG had proposed names for more than a dozen streets and squares.

- ²⁰ Reynolds.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 30, 31.
- ²² XXII, 14 (Feb. 19).
- ²³ Reynolds.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 3.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, Feb. 7, 8.
- ²⁸ Reynolds.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ³⁰ Hiram Grimes to the King. ID.
- ³¹ Reynolds.
- ³² SIG.
- ³³ *Ibid.*
- ³⁴ Colcord's Journal, 32.
- ³⁵ Reynolds, Jan. 21.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, Jan. 15, 16.
- ³⁷ SIG, Jan. 20; Reynolds, Oct. 4; Kaahumanu II to Kapena Eliota, Sept. 27 and to Geo. Pelly, Oct. 22. FO&Ex.
- ³⁸ Maria Chamberlain Letters, Oct. 8. Levi wrote this one to "Sister Isabella"; Maria was too busy. See Reynolds, May 22, July 17 and Sept. 15 for details of the work.
- ³⁹ Chamberlain, XXII, 26 (July 19); Reynolds, July 23.
- ⁴⁰ Chamberlain, XXII, 27 (July 31); Reynolds, Aug. 1.
- ⁴¹ Chamberlain, XXII, 28 (Aug. 17).
- ⁴² Aug. 25.
- ⁴³ Chamberlain, XXII, 29 (Aug. 23).
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 31; Kanoa to La'anui, Sept. 20. ID.
- ⁴⁵ Contract dated Aug. 10 in ID.
- ⁴⁶ Diell, 90; Maria Chamberlain to Isabella, Dec. 15, 1837.
- ⁴⁷ Mar. 17, July 28. See also Jan. 13 and 20, April 21 and June 30.
- ⁴⁸ Sept. 15.
- ⁴⁹ Aug. 11.
- ⁵⁰ July 11.
- ⁵¹ Jan. 8.
- ⁵² Mar. 9.
- ⁵³ Mar. 3.
- ⁵⁴ Mar. 4.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁶ Mar. 5, 6.
- ⁵⁷ Mar. 14.
- ⁵⁸ Mar. 20.
- ⁵⁹ Maria Chamberlain to Sister Isabella, Dec. 15, 1837; Reuben Tinker's Diary, Jan. 22. HMCS.
- ⁶⁰ Chamberlain, XXII, 12 (Dec. 19, 1837); Mary Dillingham Frear, "A Brief Record of Kaumakapili Church," *Forty-Sixth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society* . . . (Honolulu: June, 1938), 15.

- ⁶¹ Reynolds, Jan. 20.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, June 2.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, June 3.
- ⁶⁴ Frear, 16.
- ⁶⁵ Maria Chamberlain to her father, Aug. 20.
- ⁶⁶ Dec. 20. FO&Ex.
- ⁶⁷ SIG, July 28.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, June 23.
- ⁶⁹ Elliott to Kaahumanu II, Sept. 29; Kaahumanu II to Elliott, Oct. 1; Elliott to Kaahumanu II, Oct. 1. FO&Ex.
- ⁷⁰ R. S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854* . . . (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1938), 165. The long and complicated story of the Catholic controversy occupies pp. 137-152 and 163-167.
- ⁷¹ Diell, 86.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*; SIG, Dec. 23, 1837; July 28.
- ⁷³ SIG, Jan. 20.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 17.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁶ Chapin, 254.
- ⁷⁷ SIG, Jan. 20.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Feb. 2.
- ⁷⁹ See SIG for June 23 and 30 and July 7, 14 and 21 for long temperance articles.
- ⁸⁰ SIG, Mar. 17.
- ⁸¹ *The Hawaiian Spectator*, I, No. 3 (July), 336.
- ⁸² SIG, Feb. 17.
- ⁸³ Mar. 16.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁵ SIG, Mar. 20.
- ⁸⁶ *The Hawaiian Spectator*, I, No. 3 (July), 335-336.
- ⁸⁷ Mar. 30, April 1 and 15.
- ⁸⁸ Petition dated April 3. It and Charlton's covering letter are in FO&Ex.
- ⁸⁹ Reynolds, April 14.
- ⁹⁰ *The Hawaiian Spectator*, I, No. 4 (October), 390-392.
- ⁹¹ Sept. 8.
- ⁹² R. S. Kuykendall, *op. cit.*, 166. Pages 161-167 discuss the whole question of liquor legislation.
- ⁹³ FO&Ex.
- ⁹⁴ Kuykendall, *op. cit.*, 163.
- ⁹⁵ SIG, Dec. 29; Reynolds, Dec. 6; FO&Ex, Dec. 5.
- ⁹⁶ Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), V, Part 2, 457-458.
- ⁹⁷ SIG, Dec. 10, 1836.
- ⁹⁸ Diell, 90.
- ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 88.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 89. 90.
- ¹⁰¹ Reynolds, Sept. 21, Nov. 11.
- ¹⁰² *Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 9; Feb. 22; July 16, 31 provide examples.

- ¹⁰³ Chamberlain, XXII, 19, 20 (Mar. 26).
- ¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 13 (Feb. 19).
- ¹⁰⁵ Reynolds, June 24, 25, 26.
- ¹⁰⁶ April 23, 24; SIG, April 28.
- ¹⁰⁷ Reynolds, Jan. 8 and Oct. 25, for example.
- ¹⁰⁸ Journal, XXII, 15 (Mar. 5).
- ¹⁰⁹ XXIII, 8; SIG, Dec. 8.
- ¹¹⁰ SIG, Jan. 6.
- ¹¹¹ SIG, Jan. 20, June 9, Nov. 3; Reynolds, Sept. 11 and Feb. 21; Chamberlain, XXIII, 2 (Oct. 16 and 22), 5 (Nov. 16), for example.
- ¹¹² SIG, Jan. 6.
- ¹¹³ Reynolds, June 25 and July 12 for examples only; SIG, Nov. 26.
- ¹¹⁴ Mar. 31.
- ¹¹⁵ Reynolds, April 13.
- ¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, April 26 and May 24.
- ¹¹⁷ July 18.
- ¹¹⁸ Sept. 10.
- ¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 31.
- ¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, April 20, 21, 24.
- ¹²¹ Aug. 31. ID.
- ¹²² Reynolds.
- ¹²³ Sept. 1. ID.
- ¹²⁴ Reynolds, Aug. 8, 20, 30; Sept. 1, 2, 3, 4.
- ¹²⁵ Chamberlain, XXIII, 5 (Nov. 17).
- ¹²⁶ Nov. 27. FO&Ex.
- ¹²⁷ Reynolds, Dec. 15; Judges at Halekauila to Lono, Dec. 15. FO&Ex.
- ¹²⁸ 87.
- ¹²⁹ FO&Ex.
- ¹³⁰ Aug. 25.
- ¹³¹ Aug. 29.
- ¹³² Chamberlain, XXIII, 6, 7 (Nov. 27).
- ¹³³ SIG; Dec. 1.
- ¹³⁴ Chamberlain, XXIII, 7 (Dec. 1).
- ¹³⁵ Reynolds, Nov. 27; Dec. 1, 4, 10.
- ¹³⁶ Reynolds, Feb. 6; SIG, Feb. 10.
- ¹³⁷ Jan. 11.
- ¹³⁸ Reynolds, Jan. 11 and Sept. 15; SIG, May 19 and June 2.
- ¹³⁹ SIG, Sept. 26.
- ¹⁴⁰ Reynolds, Jan. 17, 18, 31; Aug. 21.
- ¹⁴¹ Paulo Kanoa to La'anui, July 3 and 21. FO&Ex.
- ¹⁴² Paulo Kanoa to G. La'anui, Nov. 7. FO&Ex.
- ¹⁴³ April 28. ID.
- ¹⁴⁴ Reynolds, May 26.
- ¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 21.
- ¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, May 14.
- ¹⁴⁷ Feb. 12.

- 148 Reynolds, Feb. 13; SIG, Feb. 17.
- 149 Reynolds, Mar. 8.
- 150 SIG, May 26.
- 151 Reynolds, Jan. 20.
- 152 *Ibid.*
- 153 SIG, June 9.
- 154 *Ibid.*
- 155 Reynolds, Feb. 8, 12, 14.
- 156 Diell, 90; A. S. Cooke's Journal, Jan. 9 and Feb. 15. HMCS.
- 157 Diell, 86.
- 158 SIG, Nov. 19, 1836; Dec. 23, 1837; Dec. 29.
- 159 Reynolds, Jan. 3; SIG, Jan. 6. These sources give names of officers and subscribers.
- 160 SIG, Jan. 6.
- 161 Reynolds, May 7.
- 162 *Ibid.*, May 8.
- 163 SIG, Nov. 12, 1836.
- 164 *The Hawaiian Spectator*, I, No. 2 (April), 27-36.
- 165 Diell, 93.
- 166 July 19, Oct. 10.
- 167 SIG, Mar. 10.
- 168 *Ibid.*, April 14.
- 169 *Ibid.*, Jan. 7 and Oct. 14, 1837; Mar. 31.
- 170 Aug. 18.
- 171 Chamberlain, XXII, 26 (July 16); SIG, July 28.
- 172 May 12.
- 173 SIG, Aug. 11 and 25.
- 174 *Ibid.*, Sept. 22.
- 175 *Ibid.*, Oct. 27.
- 176 Reynolds, Oct. 30.
- 177 Nov. 3.
- 178 Nov. 10.
- 179 Dec. 8.
- 180 Nov. 17.
- 181 SIG, Dec. 15.
- 182 *Ibid.*, Dec. 22. The *Gazette* reported the results of the meeting in detail and listed subscribers.
- 183 SIG, Feb. 17 and Mar. 17; Reynolds, Jan. 25.
- 184 SIG, Mar. 17.
- 185 Nov. 3; Oct. 27.
- 186 Aug. 25.
- 187 SIG, Feb. 10, April 14, July 28.
- 188 Letters, Aug. 20.
- 189 SIG, Jan. 20.
- 190 *Missionary Album* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, 1969), 66-67.
- 191 Chapin, "Climate and diseases . . .", 261.
- 192 *Ibid.*, 259.

- 193 *Ibid.*, 255, 256.
- 194 *Ibid.*, 259.
- 195 *Ibid.*
- 196 *Ibid.*
- 197 *Ibid.*, 258, 263.
- 198 *Ibid.*, 252, 256-257.
- 199 *Ibid.*, 256.
- 200 Aug. 6. ID.
- 201 252.
- 202 *Ibid.*
- 203 Mar. 10.
- 204 Diell, 87.
- 205 Reynolds, Jan. 11.
- 206 Jan. 25.
- 207 Diell, 87.
- 208 SIG, Dec. 29.
- 209 Reynolds, May 2.
- 210 Dec. 27.
- 211 For lengthy discussion of the Oahu Hotel, see Land Commission Foreign Testimony, II, Part 1, 82ff. AH.
- 212 Reynolds, Mar. 7, 10.
- 213 *Ibid.*, Mar. 17.
- 214 *Ibid.*, Mar. 28.
- 215 "Business Building Changes," HAA, 1910, 45-47; Lion Fire Insurance Map of Honolulu, Sheet 5; Fire Insurance Map of Honolulu (San Francisco: Dakin Publishing Co.), July, 1885; Reynolds, Mar. 7; SIG, April 29, 1837 and Mar. 3. Maps field in AH.
- 216 SIG, Mar. 3.
- 217 *Ibid.*, May 26.
- 218 *Ibid.*
- 219 Reynolds, May 31; June 2.
- 220 *Ibid.*, May 31, July 27, Aug. 3, Sept. 25.
- 221 Chamberlain, XXII, 33 (Sept. 28) and XXIII, 1 (Oct. 1); Reynolds, Oct. 2.
- 222 SIG, May 26.
- 223 Reynolds, May 30. Reynolds declined.
- 224 *Ibid.*, July 4.
- 225 *Ibid.*; SIG, July 7.
- 226 Chamberlain, XXIII, 7 (Dec. 6).
- 227 Reynolds, Dec. 28 and Jan. 1, 1839.
- 228 Feb. 9. FO&Ex.
- 229 Reynolds, Jan. 3; April 12, 13; 26; May 28; June 4, 6, 13, 17; July 9, 14; Sept. 5, 27; Oct. 16; Nov. 6, 12.